

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 ACDE-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02

INR-07 IO-13 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-04

PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00

NSC-05 ERDE-00 /092 W

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P 021500Z DEC 76 ZFF-4

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1864

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

USNMR SHAPE PRIORITY

USCINCEUR PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0598

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJ: MBFR: FRENCH ISSUE

REF: BONN 20195 (DTG 301925Z NOV 76)

1. THIS MESSAGE SEEKS TO CONTRIBUTE TO ADVANCE PLANNING SO THAT PROMPT ACTION CAN BE TAKEN IF RUTH'S INFORMATION IN REFTL IS CONFIRMED AND FRANCE BLOCKS PRESENTLY ENVISAGED NATO GUIDANCE TO THE AD HOC GROUP TO TABLE WESTERN DATA WITHOUT FRENCH FORCES IN TERMS WHICH EXCLUDE ALLIED USE OF THE ENVISAGED ANSWER ON OPERATION OF THE COMMON CEILING.

2. IN THIS EVENT, THERE WOULD SEEM TO US TO BE TWO MAJOR POSSIBLE COURSES:

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(A) THE PARTICIPATING ALLIES WOULD NOT TABLE ANY DATA AT THIS TIME. INSTEAD, THEY WOULD FOCUS ON AN INTERNAL ALLIANCE EFFORT TO OVERCOME FRENCH OBJECTIONS.

(B) ALTERNATIVELY, PRIOR TO THE END OF THE PRESENT ROUND, THE ALLIES WOULD TABLE UPDATED WESTERN DATA OMITTING THE FRENCH FORCES AND, IN PLACE OF TALKING POINT B ON THE COMMON CEILING, WOULD AGREE AMONG THEMSELVES TO SUBSTITUTE THE TEXT OF A CONTINGENCY ANSWER OF A TEMPORIZING TYPE TO BE USED ON A TEMPORARY BASIS IN RESPONSE TO POSSIBLE EASTERN QUESTIONS AS TO WHETHER THE WEST WOULD CONTINUE TO OPERATE THE COMMON CEILING TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF CHANGES IN THE FORCES OF OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES IN THE AREA. A POSSIBLE TEXT IS BELOW. IF THE FRENCH ASKED, THIS TEXT COULD BE SHOWN TO THEM. IT WOULD ALSO BE AGREED THAT SUBSEQUENT HIGH LEVEL DISCUSSION WITH THE FRENCH OF THE BASIC ISSUE INVOLVED WOULD TAKE PLACE.

3. WE STRONGLY FAVOR THE SECOND COURSE.

4. AS A PRACTICAL MATTER, SERIOUS TALKS WITH THE FRENCH TO RESOLVE THE BASIC ISSUE WOULD PROBABLY HAVE TO AWAIT THE INAUGURATION OF THE NEW AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION AND COULD NOT BE EXPECTED TO BEGIN SOON. OBTAINING FRENCH AGREEMENT TO A DEFINITIVE SOLUTION OR, IF NECESSARY THE AGREEMENT OF PARTICIPATING ALLIES ON SOME ALTERNATE DEFINITIVE SOLUTION, WOULD PROBABLY TAKE CONSIDERABLE FURTHER TIME, POSSIBLY BRINGING US INTO MAY OR EVEN LATER.

5. BUT WESTERN DATA SHOULD, IF AT ALL POSSIBLE, BE TABLED IN VIENNA IN THE PRESENT ROUND. IF THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS HAVE TO CONTINUE FOR ANOTHER SIX MONTHS WITHOUT GENUINE NEGOTIATION, THEIR CREDIBILITY AS SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE PLACED IN DOUBT, WITH ADVERSE CONSEQUENCES FOR MAINTAINING ALLIED UNITY AND FOR PREVENTING UNILATERAL REDUCTIONS BY WESTERN EUROPEANS. THE EAST MAY HAVE INCREASING SUCCESS IN PERSUADING THE WESTERN PUBLIC OF THE LOGIC OF THE EASTERN EQUAL PERCENTAGE APPROACH.

6. MOREOVER, A DISCUSSION WITH THE EAST OF DEFINITIONS AND DATA IS NEEDED TO DEVELOP INFORMATION ON WHICH TO BASE AN INFORMED JUDGMENT CONCERNING EASTERN INTENTIONS IN MBFR AND
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CONCERNING THE CHANCES OF SUCCESS OF THE PRESENT WESTERN NEGOTIATING PROGRAM, PARTICULARLY THE PROPOSED OUTCOME OF PARITY IN MILITARY MANPOWER. INFORMED JUDGMENTS ON THESE TOPICS WILL BE NEEDED IN TIME FOR BREZHNEV'S MEETING NEXT SPRING WITH CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT AND POSSIBLY WITH OTHER WESTERN LEADERS. BUT IF WESTERN FIGURES ARE NOT TABLED UNTIL NEXT YEAR, IT IS IMPROBABLE THAT ENOUGH INFORMATION FROM DISCUSSIONS IN VIENNA WILL HAVE BECOME AVAILABLE IN TIME TO PROVIDE A BASIS FOR THESE

DISCUSSIONS. WE ESTIMATE IT WILL TAKE A CONSIDERABLE PERIOD OF ACTUAL DISCUSSION WITH THE EAST TO DEVELOP THIS INFORMATION. CONSEQUENTLY, UNLESS WESTERN DATA IS TABLED IN THE PRESENT ROUND, WESTERN LEADERS MAY BE AT A DISADVANTAGE IN DEALING WITH THE EAST ON THE VIENNA TALKS IN ANY MEETINGS WHICH TAKE PLACE NEXT SPRING.

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FROM US REP MBFR

7. IT IS PROBABLE THAT, UNLESS REASSURED, THE GERMANS WOULD BE CONCERNED ABOUT FOLLOWING THIS SECOND COURSE. THEY WOULD NOT WISH TO USE A PROVISIONAL SOLUTION WHICH MIGHT BECOME AN ENDURING ONE, SEVERELY UNDERMINING CENTRAL ASPECTS OF THE WESTERN NEGOTIATING APPROACH, SUCH AS THE COMMON CEILING AND THE COLLECTIVITY PRINCIPLE. THESE CONCERNS SHOULD BE MET AS FAR AS POSSIBLE. FOR THESE REASONS, THE US SHOULD PROPOSE TO THE FRG THAT, IF WESTERN DATA WERE TO BE TABLED ON THE ABOVE LINES, THE FRENCH SHOULD BE TOLD AT THE SAME TIME THAT THE COURSE

DESCRIBED COULD BE USED ONLY FOR A SHORT TIME BEFORE THERE WAS SERIOUS DAMAGE TO THE CREDIBILITY OF THE WESTERN NEGOTIATING POSITION, AND THAT, IN THE VIEW OF THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS, IT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO COME TO A MORE SATISFACTORY SOLUTION WITHIN A FEW MONTHS IF THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS WERE TO HAVE ANY CHANCE OF ACHIEVING ACCEPTABLE RESULTS IN THE VIENNA

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NEGOTIATIONS.

8. AS REGARDS THE NEW LANGUAGE TO BE CLEARED WITH PARTICIPATING ALLIES, AND SHOWN TO THE FRENCH IF NECESSARY, IT MIGHT BE AS FOLLOWS: QUOTE IF EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES ASK WHAT THE WEST WILL DO IF FRENCH FORCES IN THE FRG INCREASE, OR WHETHER FRENCH FORCES IN THE FRG WOULD STILL BE COVERED BY THE PROPOSED WESTERN NO-INCREASE OR COMMON CEILING COMMITMENTS, WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES SHOULD REPLY AS FOLLOWS: WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES ARE NOT AUTHORIZED AT THIS TIME TO DISCUSS THE EXACT MECHANISM WHICH WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WOULD PROPOSE UNDER THEIR PROGRAM TO DEAL WITH INCREASES IN THE REDUCTION AREA OF FORCES OF STATES NOT PARTICIPATING IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS. THEY RECOGNIZE THAT THERE IS A REAL PROBLEM HERE WHICH WILL HAVE TO BE SOLVED. UNQUOTE.

9. IT HAS ALREADY BEEN AGREED TRILATERALLY (BUT NOT FOR DISCUSSION WITH THE FRENCH) THAT: (1) WESTERN NEGOTIATORS WOULD MAKE CLEAR TO THE EAST THAT THE OBJECTIVE OF WESTERN PARTICIPANTS CONTINUES TO BE THAT THE OUTCOME OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE A COMBINED COMMON COLLECTIVE CEILING ON THE TOTAL GROUND AND AIR FORCE MANPOWER IN THE AREA AT APPROXIMATELY 900,000 MEN, AND A COMMON COLLECTIVE CEILING OF GROUND FORCE MANPOWER OF APPROXIMATELY 700,000 MEN, AND, (2) THAT WESTERN NEGOTIATORS WOULD TELL THE EAST THAT, IN THE EVENT OF A SATISFACTORY AGREEMENT ON THE BASIS PROPOSED BY THE WEST, THE WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WOULD CONTINUE PREPARED, IN ORDER TO ESTABLISH THE COMMON COLLECTIVE CEILING, TO MAKE REDUCTIONS OF GROUND FORCE MANPOWER EQUAL TO THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE TOTAL OF GROUND FORCE MANPOWER OF ALL WESTERN COUNTRIES WITH FORCES IN THE AREA AND THE LEVEL AGREED FOR THE COMMON COLLECTIVE CEILING ON GROUND FORCE MANPOWER.

10. IT IS DESIRABLE IF THE CONTINGENCY COURSE RECOMMENDED IN THIS MESSAGE IS FOLLOWED, THAT THERE ALSO BE TRILATERAL UNDERSTANDING ON TACTICS TO ANSWER POSSIBLE QUESTIONS FROM OTHER MBFR PARTICIPANTS ON THE TOPICS TREATED IN PARA 9 AND TO PREVENT SOME PARTICIPANT FROM BRINGING UP THE ISSUES UNDERLYING THEM IN THE SPC IN A WAY WHICH COULD ELICIT A FRENCH VETO ON THESE POINTS TOO. THESE ARE NOT ISSUES ON WHICH WESTERN NEGOTIATORS IN VIENNA CAN FAIL TO RESPOND OR ON WHICH THEY COULD USE A

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TEMPORIZING REPLY.

11. WE BELIEVE THAT, IF THE FRG AGREES TO FOLLOW THIS COURSE, THE ALLIES COULD THEN PROCEED EITHER TO USE THE SILENCE PROCEDURE, WHICH WE WOULD PREFER, OR IF THE FRG DESIRES, TO HOLD A NAC MEETING TO DEAL WITH THE PROPOSED GUIDANCE. IF IN EITHER EVENT THE FRENCH STATE THAT THEIR AGREEMENT TO THE GUIDANCE IS DEPENDENT ON THE ALLIES NOT REPEATING STATEMENTS THAT THE ALLIES WILL TAKE ACCOUNT OF CHANGES IN FRENCH FORCES IN THE OPERATION OF THE COMMON CEILING, SOME PREVIOUSLY SELECTED ALLIES COULD MAKE AN AGREED STATEMENT TO THE EFFECT THAT THEY WOULD PROCEED TO TABLE DATA ON THIS BASIS, BUT WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THEIR VIEW THAT THIS PROCEDURE COULD NOT SERVE AS A PERMANENT SOLUTION AND THAT A BETTER ONE MUST BE FOUND SOON.RESOR

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